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a cultural and social limbo, and express feelings of futility. In their case, one might say that there has been a loss of traditional values, at least uncertainty about them, and a lack of comprehension of the new schemes which Chilean society grudgingly offers. For them, change has been radical.

But what about the estimated 200,000 or so reservation-dwelling Mapuche? Is Titiev's a fair interpretation of how they feel and how they felt and of the emotional course they have run during several generations of reservation life? Did this supposed sense of futility begin with final military defeat, or did it result in defeat? Did it manifest itself in the first generation after defeat, or is it a more recent phenomenon? How much spade-work must be done before we can expect answers to questions like these? And how much needed information is actually undiscoverable? To build a judgment about "culture change" on this sort of speculation, especially with its predictive overtones, is most unsound.

What have the Mapuche been doing since 1884? I suggest that we may well be content with the simple observation that they have been rebuilding their society. One of the "honors" accruing to contemporary Mapuche farmers is a full belly; thrift, up to a point, means a small amount of cash on hand with which to buy necessities and a few luxuries. Under these conditions must we expect the Mapuche to imitate Chileans? Is this a measure of their happiness or despair? In what sense do Mapuche compete with Chileans? What, indeed, does competition mean to a Mapuche farmer? If imitation and competition are to serve as guides to understanding Mapuche society, we are at least obliged to justify this expectation, and to show that we are not injecting values of our own (or those transplanted by Chileans) into our judgment of the state of affairs in Mapucheland. Why should the Mapuche save money and why should they be interested in thrift, and what does it mean if they are not? To my mind, their indifference to these things indicates an absence of a Western rationale of economic values, the opposite of "breakdown," "transition," or even "futility." The Mapuche are interested in making certain limited changes in the material features of their life, which their poverty and reservation status inhibit. On balance, though, a Mapuche wants to live the Mapuche way of life, within the limiting and comforting

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framework of traditional values and institutions, and wants to change at his own pace—and mainly with respect to the acquisition of economic goods. Whatever the cumulative effect of this attitude might be on Mapuche social structure and cultural values, it is yet to be observed.

That religion is one of the forces most suited to mold the world view of individuals is recognized both by the Mapuche and by Chilean missionaries. The failure of the Christian ideal to take hold among the Mapuche is testimony to the successful integration of Mapuche society and its system of values, for religion provides the framework in which the general inculcation of traditional values, attitudes, and procedures is accomplished. Four hundred years of missionary work, economic imperialism, and even ultimate military defeat have failed to crack the hard shell of Mapuche religious morality. The Araucanian language, in which these values are expressed (and which for this reason is banned in the reservation schools), is still the language of the home. Even Chilean merchants have learned to figure accounts in Araucanian, and they inject Araucanian words into their sales talk. All preschool age Mapuche and most adult women are essentially monolingual in Araucanian, the language of thought for almost every Mapuche. Children are jokingly called "old people" because they know little or no Spanish. And during and after the few years of formal reservation school, youngsters are reeducated at home. There is a general rejection of Chilean values and procedures, patent in an [illegible]current of constant ridicule and in a strong feeling of pa[illegible]che, ethnic solidarity, vis-à-vis Chilean society. Even in the sphere of economic activity, some of the traditional ceremonial aspects of economic life persist. Mapuche ritual appears both as an expression of this social and ethnic solidarity and as its single most stabilizing and integrating force.

III

Religious beliefs centering in ancestral propitiation largely define normative behavior and constitute therefore moral rules of Mapuche society. It might be said that a function of ritual belief is the establishment of limits to possible variation in social action. Where beliefs persist or change in a manner consistent with traditional values, the social institutions which reflect these beliefs accordingly persist or change consistent with traditional structures.